

Message Text

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ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 IO-13 NIC-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 OMB-01 TRSE-00

AID-20 RSR-01 /151 W

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P 202055Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4847

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN JOSE 2946

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAS, CU, VE, CS

SUBJECT: VENEZUELAN INITIATIVE ON CUBA AND COSTA RICAN
ALTERNATIVE

REF: A. SAN JOSE 2927 (NOTAL) AND B. SAN JOSE 2945

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

1. THIS MORNING FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO GAVE ME ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS A COPY OF MEMO HE GAVE VENEZUELAN AUGUST 17 (REFTEL A). COPY OF THAT MEMO IS BEING POUCHED TO USOAS AND ARA/CEN, AND DETAILED SUMMARY IS CONTAINED IN REFTEL B. MEMO STATES THAT GOCR WOULD NOT VOTE FAVORABLY FOR VENEZUELAN INITIATIVE. BUT IT ALSO ARGUES FOR COSTA RICAN "ALTERNATIVE" AND INVITES VENEZUELA TO PROPOSE A MEETING OF CONSULTATION TO CARRY IT OUT. HOWEVER, FACIO TOLD ME THAT VENEZUELA REFUSES TO ACCEPT HIS FORMULA, AND DOES NOT WANT TO GO TO THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION ROUTE. GOV ALLEGES, HE SAYS, THAT COLOMBIA AND ECUADOR WILL NOT SUPPORT A MEETING DESIGNED TO
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DETERMINE IF CUBA HAS CEASED TO CONSTITUTE

A DANGER TO THE PEACE.

2. FACIO REPEATED THAT COSTA RICA WILL NOT VOTE FOR THE VENEZUELAN INITIATIVE AND THAT VENEZUELA THEREFORE HAS ONLY 11 VOTES. HE DOUBTS THAT VENEZUELA WILL PRESENT ITS RESOLUTION, BUT IT MAY DO SO JUST FOR THE RECORD AND TO "JUSTIFY ITSELF". SINCE VENEZUELA IS NOT DISPOSED TO GO THE ROUTE HE SUGGESTS, FACIO OPINED THAT IT'S A STAND-OFF AND NOTHING WILL HAPPEN FOR THE TIME BEING.

3. FACIO HAS CALLED A MEETING OF ALL AMBASSADORS FROM OAS MEMBER STATES FOR 4:00 P.M. AUGUST 21. HE TOLD ME THIS WAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF GIVING THEM A COPY OF HIS MEMO TO VENEZUELA AND TO EXPLAIN IT; HE WAS GIVING ME A "CONFIDENTIAL ADVANCE COPY". (THE CHILIAN AMBASSADOR WAS IN THE WAITING ROOM WHEN I LEFT, AND I SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF HE GOT AN "ADVANCE" COPY TOO.)

4. I THEN CONVEYED TO HIM OUR OBJECTIONS TO HIS FORMULA PER STATE 161341, AND STRESSED THAT WE HAD SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH HIS SCENARIO. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY AND ACKNOWLEDGED SOME SUBSTANCE TO THE QUESTION OF HOW A "DECISION" WOULD RESULT AND TO THE CONCERN THAT HIS SCENARIO WOULD IN EFFECT PUT INTO PRACTICE THOLMEXICAN PROPOSAL FOR REFORMING THE VOTING PROVISIONS OF THE RIO TREATY.

5. I PRESSED FACIO AS TO WHAT PROCEDURE HE ENVISAGED WOULD BE FOLLOWED FOR AN EXAMINATION OF CUBA'S CURRENT CONDUCT. HIS FORMULA MERELY STATES THE FACTS WILL BE EXAMINED AND IF NO ACTS OF SUBVERSION OR INTERVENTION HAVE OCCURRED THE CONCLUSION "WILL HAVE TO BE REACHED" THAT THE CONDITIONS GIVING RISE TO THE SANCTIONS NO LONGER EXISTED. SINCE FACTS ARE SELDOM OBJECTIVELYOBVIOUS IN THE SAME WAY
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TO EVERYONE, AND PEOPLE CAN SINCERELY DISAGREE AS TO WHAT IS A FACT OR WHAT IT MEANS, HOW WOULD THE DECISION BE MADE AS TO WHAT THE FACTS INDICATE AS TO WHETHER CUBA DOES OR DOES NOT CONTINUE TO CONSTITUTE A DANGER TO THE PEACE? I PRESUMED THAT A "DECISION" WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED AND THAT THIS WOULD MEAN A TWO-THIRDS VOTE. THUS THERE SEEMED TO BE NO ESCAPING THE NEED FOR A TWO-THIRDS

VOTE TO LIFT SANCTIONS BECAUSE CUBA DOES NOT
CONSTITUTE A DANGER TO THE PEACE. FACIO
SQUIRMED A LITTLE AND SAID ONLY THAT
THE PROCEDURES FOR EXAMINING THE FACTS
AND DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ARE ADMITTEDLY FUZZY
IN HIS PROPOSAL AND WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT.

6. I ADDED THAT WE OF COURSE HAD POLITICAL
OBJECTIONS TOO, SINCE WE DID NOT THINK THAT
CUBAN BEHAVIOR WARRANTED A CHANGE IN SANCTIONS.
SINCE SOME OTHERS ALSO SEEMED TO FEEL THAT WAY,
PRESSING FOR A MEETING OF CONSULTATION TO
EXAMINE THE DANGER TO THE PEACE ISSUE
WAS LIKELY TO BE VERY DIVISIVE, CONFRONTATIONAL
AND TENSION-INCREASING IN THE SYSTEM AS A
WHOLE. IT THEREFORE WOULD SEEM TO BE MORE
POLITIC NOT TO BRING MATTERS TO A HEAD RIGHT NOW.

7. COMMENT: FACIO WAS MUCH MORE RESTRAINED
ABOUT HIS FORMULA TODAY. VENEZUELA'S APPARENT
REFUSAL TO ADOPT HIS FORMULA AS AN ALTERNATIVE
TO ITS INITIATIVE MAY HAVE DISCOURAGED HIM.
NEVERTHELESS, HE WILL SURFACE HIS IDEAS
FORMALLY TOMORROW WHEN HE GIVES COPIES OF
HIS MEMO TO THE GOV AND TO THE OTHER OAS
GOVERNMENTS, THUS IN EFFECT THROWING HIS
FORMULA IN THE RING. I BELIEVE IT
PRUDENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT TO GIRD
ITSELF TO MEET THE FACIO FORMULA, AND TO
PREPARE ARGUMENTS ACCORDINGLY. THOUGH HE
MAY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS SOMEWHAT
MORE RESISTANCE TO HIS ALTERNATIVE THAN HE
THOUGHT, I DOUBT THAT HE HAS GIVEN UP. AND
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IT IS NOT IMPROBABLE THAT IF WE GET BY THE
HURDLE OF THE PRESENT VENEZUELAN INITIATIVE,
THE NEXT ONE WILL BE FACIO'S FORMULA, WHICH
IS IN MANY WAYS MORE ATTRACTIVE AND MORE
DIFFICULT.
VAKY

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS INTERRUPTION, MEMBER ADMISSIONS, EMBARGOES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973SANJO02946
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS VAKY
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: SAN JOSE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730827/aaaaattz.tel
Line Count: 162
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION L
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. SAN JOSE 2927 (NOTAL) AND B. SAN, JOSE 2945
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18-Jan-2002 by thigpegh>; APPROVED <11 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VENEZUELAN INITIATIVE ON CUBA AND COSTA RICAN ALTERNATIVE
TAGS: PFOR, CU, VE, CS, OAS
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005